

**SPEECH OF REV. FRANCIS BISHOP,**  
*At the Manchester (Eng.) Anti-Slavery Conference,*  
August 1st, 1851.

August 18th, 1869.

REV. FRANCIS BISHOP, of Liverpool, said:

I most heartily respond to the sentiments uttered by the chairman, when he laid it down as our duty to speak out honestly, and without reserve or hesitation, on the subject which has brought us together to-day. I have said already so far as the subject has a bearing on the conduct and the duty of our American friends across the Atlantic; and I believe, sir, that it would only be an act of cowardice on our part to neglect this duty, but that we should be defeating our own object by so doing. I have said, that the duty which we have undertaken on this side of the Atlantic, will be seriously and respectfully listened to, and earnestly pondered, by the most estimable and intelligent portion of our brethren on the other side of the water. I suppose, sir, that I am called forward as a witness, and I shall, therefore, come at once to my testimony. When the Rev. Mr. Bishop was here two years ago, this very week, I was in the city of Richmond, the capital of the State of Virginia. It is a beautiful city, containing about 30,000, or between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants. It stands by the falls of James's River. Its public buildings are very imposing;—the principal ones are the State House, a very magnificent and costly structure, its broad, spacious, and lengthened streets, are rows of locust and other trees, adding to the beauty and attractiveness of the city. About the centre of the city, on an eminence, stands the Capitol, or State House—that is, the house where the two branches of the legislature, the House of Delegates and the senate, are accustomed to meet and make the laws of the State. That building stands on a beautiful public ground, called the Capitol Square, laid out very tastefully with trees, shrubs, and flowers; and at all the entrances—that was the first thing that struck my attention on entering, and in

walking on boards, warning colored persons, whether free or slaves, not to walk in that square, unless on business—that is, unless they are sent by their owners and employers—on pain, in the case of freedom, of a heavy fine, the amount of which I forget; and, in the case of slaves, of a whipping, or the infliction of thirty-nine stripes. (Hear, hear.)

The neighborhood of that city, not long since, there came a remarkable letter to this country, a letter which was published in most of our newspapers, purporting to come from a lady's hand, and it was an amiable, and a good letter. I do not know whether it should have been so purporting to come, in response to an address of the women of this country, from Mrs. Ex-President Tyler. I think it was well, if she wrote that letter, that she had none of those English ladies near her at the moment she was writing.

She was an utter mistake and gross abolitionist calumny to say that separation of families, mother and child, was a common thing among the slave population; on the contrary, she said, it was most uncommon; and one that all the respectable families in the country would be ashamed to tolerate. Now, I say, thus publicly, that a more gross and barefaced falsehood was never uttered than this statement in Mrs. Tyler's letter; for separations of families are taking place in that city by broad day-light, on every day in the year, except on the Sabbath, and in the most open manner, in the religion in that anomalous part of America, full of contradictions as it is, which does lead to the cessation of these human sales, these heartless separations, on one day in each week of the year.

One morning, I made my way, about nine o'clock

to a certain extent, sales were to commence at half-past nine. I went into the auction-room of Messrs. Pullan & Davis, in that street. I mingled with the slaveholders, about forty of whom were assembled there; I went round with them as they examined and appraised the slaves, men, women and children, in a way that was very painful to me, feeling that I was touching their wrists, their hips, their legs, in order to judge of the probable value of those miserable lots of human stock. The room was a barn-like place, one quarter the size of this place, and with a very low ceiling, and about 12 feet by 6, with four steps on each side. On that platform afterwards stood the auctioneer, and his victims on each side.

Among the slaves to be sold was a group which excited my attention, and that of many others present; consisting of a mother, 35 years of age, and her six children. The eldest of that family was a young woman, eighteen or nineteen years of age; a beautiful young woman, nearly white, and it was the beauty of this young woman which was one cause of the great and marked attention paid to her. I saw her regarded with admiration by this group, the poor mother taking me, I suppose, to be a slaveholder and imagining that I was contemplating to make purchase, begged and implored me not to separate them, but to buy them together. The daughter came forward, and united her entreaties to her mother's. I could not but have you ever thought of the feelings of a slave mother in such circumstances, with her children clinging about

Who can imagine her heart's deep emotion,  
As she looks on her children about to be sold?  
You may picture the rage of the root-killer's cease-  
less wail, but the grief of that mother can never be told!

"Afterwards I watched the fate of this fine  
girl with great interest. I cannot tell you of the  
sales offered to the mother in the presence of the  
child, and offered to the child in the presence of the  
mother. They were in the hands of a brutal, coarse  
and repulsive looking man, who declared that I  
had only had them in his possession for a few days,  
and that he would sell them to the highest bidder at  
his mouth, and the stench of roe seemed to come  
from every corner of his body, and he was near-  
ly drunk, and the curses and ribald jests which he  
uttered to, instead of exciting the indignation of  
those present, and occasioned bursts of laughter  
from the place, only caused a more complete ex-  
clusion of the mother from the auctioneer's stand, and  
so the little boys, of whom there were two,  
less than thirteen years of age, clung to the mother,  
but, he was torn from her by the attendant, and  
made to go and sit down again beside the wall.  
That mother was sold with two of her children.  
The other two were separated from each other,  
and the laughter excited great notice when she was  
placed on the stand, and the auctioneer seemed  
to take pride in selling such a valuable article: as  
he said, 'There, gentlemen, that speaks for itself.'  
Taking her by the shoulders, he turned her round  
and showed her to the spectators, and she was a  
fine figure in all America than that,' he said.  
And so he went on praising the poor creature.  
She seemed indignant at it. She was nearly with-  
in as I have said, and her bosom heaved with indig-  
nation at being thus pointed at and so spoken of,  
and far worse treatment she was subjected to than







Reverend gentleman then read extracts from Mr. Pillsbury's work, illustrative of the guilty position on the subject in relation to American slavery. It was a fact, as had been stated in one of the resolutions of the recent Anti-Slavery Conference in Manchester, that there were in the United States 600,000 slaves, held by white men, ministers, deacons, elders and church members, some of which belonged to the same denomination as themselves. Mr. Pillsbury having thus shown the enormity of an expression of opinion, and a strong expression of opinion, on the subject by the religious bodies in this country, took the negative of the proposition, to sustain which he went into a Biblical argument, proving that neither the Old nor the New Testament at any time sanctioned the permanent enslavement of any individual, much less any system of bondage possessing the atrocious features of American slavery.

A Reverend gentleman expressed his surprise that it should have been deemed necessary in Manchester, of the present day, to vindicate the New Testament from the charge of sanctioning slavery; an undertaking which he regarded as a work of supererogation.

Mr. P. replied, that it was not so, so long as the works of American commentators, who propounded this question, such as Moses Stuart and others, were received in this country as of high authority, and found a place in the libraries, probably, of nearly every gentleman present. The fact of these divines being received in this country as authoritative commentators upon the Bible, gave weight in America to their dictum concerning slavery as an institution sanctioned by the Scriptures.

Dr. HAYES denied the soundness of the argument in favor of slavery drawn from the fact of its existence among the Jews in the early portions of their history. Moses found the system existing, and permitted it to continue for a time under certain restrictions, intended to ameliorate the condition of the slave, and ultimately to abolish altogether. Ecclesiastical history proved that those restrictions had had the desired effect, for, after the Babylonian captivity, slavery was utterly exterminated among the Jews.

Rev. ROBERT VAUGHAN, D. D., (President and Professor of Theology of the Lane Theological Institute, Chicago), then took up the objection urged by sceptics against the New Testament, namely, that it did not condemn slavery, as a sin, in specific terms. He contended that the plan of Christianity was not to draw out of the Jews, and to denounce them as a nation, but to lay down great and broad principles, which should cover the whole ground of morality, and which, wherever received and acted upon, would put an end to every form of oppression and evil.

A conversation then arose respecting the American Abolitionists, and particularly the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose services to the cause of humanity were unanimously recognized. An exception was, however, taken to Mr. Joseph Barker being allowed to stand upon his platform, and in the most irrelevant manner to assign the Bible as the Magna Charta of slavery, and to contend that the destruction of its influence was an indispensable pre-requisite to the abolition of slavery. It was admitted that Mr. Barker had a right to his own peculiar theological views, which he might legitimately endeavor to defend and propagate upon every fitting occasion; but it was contended that he had no right to bring them upon the anti-slavery platform, or to make them part and parcel of the cause of abolition. That was not doing what he asked of others—subordinating our own sectarian views to the interests of the anti-slavery cause. While Mr. Barker was permitted by the American Anti-Slavery Society to introduce such irrelevant and offensive matter upon its platform, that Society could not expect to receive aid from those who held the Bible as the great charter of human liberty.

Mr. PARKES replied, that while sincerely anxious to aid the American Abolitionists by every means in our power, he still was bound to admit the force of the objection which had been urged against the course adopted by Mr. Barker, and tolerated by the American Anti-Slavery Society upon its platform. But, at the same time, he was also aware that the alleged infidelity of certain American Abolitionists was not merely an excuse for not joining the American Anti-Slavery Society, but as a pretext for not exposing themselves to unpopularity in the United States for not taking any anti-slavery action whatever. He trusted that that would not be the use made of Mr. Barker's infidelity by the ministerial brethren present.

The meeting, in strong terms, reprobated any such cowardly feeling; but said that they could not, consistently, aid a Society established even for so high and holy a purpose as the abolition of slavery, whose platform and machinery were used for the overthrow of the Bible.

Mr. PARKES, in conclusion, appealed to the meeting, whether the objection which had been urged prevented their becoming auxiliaries to the American A. S. Society. They were prepared to take whatever anti-slavery action they could, independently of that Society? The meeting unanimously replied in the affirmative. The conversation then dropped.

Dr. BEARD had been somewhat warmly attacked for his speech at the Town Hall, in the matter of Kossuth, and for his doctrine of equality of right which he claimed for the African.

The meeting in the afternoon, which was filled to its utmost capacity. The services were opened by a Song; after which, the Secretary addressed the meeting upon the position and character of the American Church in general, and the clergy in particular.

S. S. FOSTER next addressed the Convention in a masterly speech, occupying the remainder of the session. He went into an analysis of the policy adopted by the Free Soil party, and made it as palpable as the sun in the heavens in a cloudless day, that, though its avowed object is the overthrow of slavery in this nation, it is, in principle, an ally of the Slave Power.

He avowed the most profound respect for many of the members of that party, and cheerfully accorded to them a great deal of sincerity and honesty of purpose, but could not consent to cooperate with them, so long as they conceded to any man the right to make any portion of their fellow-men, and a disposition to hail with joy, and to labor untiringly to advance, every movement which is designed to remove those evils, whether physical or moral, which entral any portion of the human family.

Resolved, That the receding of those clergymen from their purpose, publicly announced, to hold a meeting of the clergy of New England, in Providence, R. I., in the month of July last, to consider what action they, as ministers, ought to take in relation to the alarming encroachments of the Slave Power, presents new proof that they are sadly wanting in that moral courage and devotion to principle, which are essential elements in true Christian character.

By R. THAYER: Resolved, That as the system of slavery involves every wrong which man is capable of perpetrating, so a consistent opposition to it involves a practical recognition of every human right, and a disposition to hail with joy, and to labor untiringly to advance, every movement which is designed to remove those evils, whether physical or moral, which entral any portion of the human family.

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been even a greater blessing to the West Indies than its most sanguine friends could have expected. You will not be surprised to hear that his facts were clothed in language well calculated to warm the heart with generous enthusiasm.

The concluding paragraph of your recent letter referred to the case of our colored seamen arriving in South Carolina ports, and you very justly ask whether we have done our duty. It is a source of shame to us that we must say, no. Our government has shamefully neglected the rights of its subjects. We have not, as a people, taken steps to compel the government to do its duty, and must therefore, in this respect, bear the reproach your question so justly implied. This is one of the few questions which the British and Foreign A. S. Society have taken up. They have tried to bring the matter before the House, and have succeeded so far as to persuade the Hon. A. F. Kinnaird, the member for Perth, to ask the government for papers to be laid before the House. Lord John Russell in reply said, that the negotiations were proceeding so very favorably that he thought it would be imprudent to lay the papers on the table. He had the greatest hopes that important ameliorations would soon be made in the laws of the States allied to us. What Lord John Russell meant, I cannot tell; on what he founded his hopes, I cannot guess. Your countrymen have passed the Fugitive Slave Law, have passed the Nebraska Bill, have frequently put the Fugitive Slave Law into practice; South Carolina seems to be in no wise likely to improve the position of its colored population, or to lessen the severity of its laws towards strangers. How, notwithstanding these facts, patent to every eye, Lord John can make such assertions, I am fairly at a loss to say; but the Hon. A. Kinnaird was satisfied. The same gentleman was, at a later period of the session, again requested to bring the matter forward, but said that it would be very inconvenient to the government, he would rather not! According to our Parliamentary etiquette, the subject is one which the member for Perth can alone bring forward, as he has once moved in it, and it is regarded as his question, in consequence. So we are in a fix. If we had no good sterling abolitionist in the House of Commons, perhaps parliamentary etiquette could be got over. The government is not what it should be. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston have both been active in the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa; but they have not shown themselves alive to their duties towards our colored seamen. They have submitted to what I cannot but look upon as a great degradation. They have permitted the ministry, of which they are such prominent and influential members, to appoint the Right Hon. Sir John Young, the member for the county of Cavan, as secretary for Ireland. It is a notorious fact that this man is a slaveholder. What can we expect from men who can make such a selection for a post of high influence? I am unable to say how bitterly this aroused our anti-slavery feeling, and how injurious this is to any vigorous measures on the part of the powers that be. It is a proof of the want of true anti-slavery feeling in the country, that this insult to the nation is passing unnoted. We have more to do here in awakening a true abolition movement than some people imagine; they mistake the natural sentiment of hatred of oppression for active and enlightened abolitionism. It is not yet fully seen that England's duty was not completely fulfilled when we emancipated our own slaves. Our Manchester Conference was useful this way; I hope the London Conference may do more. You will have noticed that the Manchester Conference appointed a strong deputation to be present at that in London.

Various portions of the Cape, till they numbered some two thousand. The services were opened with a Song, followed by a short speech by the Secretary, in which he dwelt upon the spaciousness and architectural beauties of Nature's great temple in which we were permitted to engage in the true worship of God, and the beautiful harmony existing between the place and the object of our meeting.

ANDREW T. FOSS followed in an effective speech, in which he traced the connection existing between the churches and slavery. He was listened to with profound attention by the assembly, and many a countenance gave visible tokens of approval as he administered his scathing rebukes of the American Church and clergy, and was listened to with great interest to the close. She charged the clergy with having made the people, to a very great extent, what they are, and if they are not what they ought to be, she held the ministry mainly accountable for it.

Adjourned till 2 o'clock, P. M.

In the afternoon, the Convention was addressed by S. S. FOSTER, in a speech such as he only can make. The way in which he came down upon the political parties in general, and upon the Whig party in particular, must have been a terrible infliction to any profigate politician who might have been present. When he undertook to comment upon the conduct of Gov. Washburn, in connection with the surrender of Anthony Burns to the Slave Power, there was heard, from some of the more sensitive Whigs in the assembly, an expression of disapprobation. Those who thus attempted to disturb the meeting were requested to desist, while Mr. Foster attempted to proceed with his remarks. But the malcontents seemed unwilling that Mr. F. should go on; for which reason he desisted, telling them that they could have a Whig now if they wished it, (for if there was a riot, the Whigs would be responsible for it), and break up the meeting. An officer present attempted to arrest one of the rioters, who, with his sympathizers, made resistance, and, for a time, it seemed as though our meeting was to be entirely broken up, and the good people of Cape Cod to bear the stigma of tolerating a mob. In the affair, several persons were knocked down, the clothes of some were badly torn, but no one was seriously injured. Women and children were seen leaving the ground in the greatest consternation, and fleeing to distant parts of the forest for safety. We will not attempt a particular description of the scenes of that tumultuous hour, which we were grateful to survive, without witnessing the shedding of blood or the sacrifice of life. After about half an hour, the spirit of miracle yielded to the wishes of the friends of good order, and the people, who had been scattered, reassembled to listen again to Mr. Foster. A gentleman present, who avowed himself a Whig, (we were informed that it was ALFRED DICKINSON, Esq., of Orleans,) arose, and made some excellent remarks, expressing the hope that, however much any night direr in sentiment from the speaker, all would be willing to hear him through quietly. The speech of this gentleman exerted a soothing and happy influence upon the meeting, and Mr. Foster was listened to till the conclusion of his masterly speech with the most profound attention. The moral atmosphere seemed purer for the tempest through which we had just passed.

We were not surprised to learn, after the meeting had closed, that those who had disturbed it were encouraged to do so by certain Whigs, who did not wish to be known as actors in the scene,—a class of men whom we regard as much more mean and cowardly than those who used them as tools to accomplish their diabolical purpose. As 'murder will out,' we are glad that these men are known in the community where they reside, and will be held responsible by the friends of good order there for the riotous proceedings of which we have spoken.

During the afternoon, the financial committee collected, in money and pledges, about one hundred dollars, for the Massachusetts A. S. Society. The meeting was adjourned till evening.

A good number of friends assembled in the Hall in the evening, where short and interesting speeches were made by the President, S. S. FOSTER, A. T. FOSS, LEWIS FORD, JOSEPH H. ROBBINS, and GILBERT SMITH. At the close of the meeting, the following Resolutions, which were presented to the Convention in the afternoon, were read and adopted:—

By ANDREW T. FOSS: Resolved, That truth is the agency which God has ordained for the reformation of the world, and therefore its faithful inculcation in reference to the wrongs and abuses which exist in our own time is the God-given work of every reformer.

Resolved, That we are constrained to denounce the 'Native American Party,' known as the 'Know Nothings,' as selfish and diabolical, inasmuch as it ignores the condition of the American slave, and is willing to strike hands with his oppressors in their unparadise of outrage of all his rights.

Resolved, That the Remonstrance of the three thousand clergy of New England against the passage of the 'Nebraska Bill,' is a marked sign of the progress of anti-slavery sentiment, and as such, we hail it with joy. But we regret that it did not preclude, rather than follow, the demonstrations made by the 'men of property and standing' against that great iniquity.

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